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FM CIA*Summary on
Soviet 7/17 statement*

MORI C03223855

TO WHITE HOUSE//SITUATION ROOM FOR MR FAZIO
STATE RCI//ATTENTION OPERATIONS CENTER FOR MR FRY
NMCC// ATTENTION CIA REP
TREASURY DEPT//INFO FOR MR JOHN YEOON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS
APPLY

C O N F I D E N T I A L . CITE CIA/WHSS 33897.

WARNING NOTICE SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS
INVOLVED

State Department review completed

ITEM NO: 6 DATE: JULY 17, 1974

SUBJECT: SOVIET STATEMENT ON CYPRUS

REF: FBIS 126, JULY 17, 1974 UNCLASSIFIED

MOSCOW'S GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON THE CYPRUS SITUATION ISSUED
THIS EVENING IS NOTABLY MODERATE. IT AVOIDS ANY THREATS AND
DOES NOT INDICATE THAT THE USSR SEES ITS SECURITY AFFECTED BY
DEVELOPMENTS ON THE ISLAND.THE STATEMENT--MOSCOW'S MOST AUTHORITATIVE PRONOUNCEMENT
ON THE COUP SO FAR--REITERATES SOVIET SUPPORT FOR CYPRIOT
INDEPENDENCE, CONDEMNS GREEK INTERFERENCE, AND CALLS FOR SUP-
PORT OF THE "LEGITIMATE" GOVERNMENT OF MAKARIOS. IT DEMANDS
THE IMMEDIATE REMOVAL OF ALL GREEK MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM THE
ISLAND BUT DOES NOT THREATEN ATHENS WITH ANY CONSEQUENCES IF
THIS IS NOT DONE.THE STATEMENT IMPLIES THAT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IS THE
FORUM FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION ON CYPRUS BUT SUGGESTS THAT
MOSCOW DOES NOT THINK EFFECTIVE ACTION CAN BE TAKEN THERE
BECAUSE OF THE OBSTRUCTION OF "CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES." THE
STATEMENT INDIRECTLY EXPRESSES DISPLEASURE WITH US POLICY
TOWARD THE CYPRUS SITUATION, SAYING THAT "SOME" IN THE WEST
ARE ACCEPTING THE GREEK VERSION THAT THE SITUATION IS A CYPRIOT
INTERNAL MATTER.THE SOVIETS DO NOT COMMIT THEMSELVES ACTIVELY TO ASSISTING
ANY MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS TO RETURN MAKARIOS TO POWER. (MOSCOW'S
INITIAL PRONOUNCEMENT ON THE COUP, ISSUED MONDAY, SUGGESTED
THAT THE USSR WAS HOLDING SUCH A COURSE OPEN.) THE LATEST
STATEMENT SAYS VAGUELY THAT THE USSR "WILL BE ON THE SIDE"
OF CYPRIOTS SEEKING TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FATE. E-2, IMPDET.

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BIS 126 (SUB FOR 117)

EXT OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON CYPRUS SITUATION

172053 MOSCOW TASS IN ENGLISH 2052 GMT 17 JUL 74 L

"STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT"--TASS HEADLINE)

(TEXT) MOSCOW JULY 17 TASS--FOLLOWS THE STATEMENT OF THE
SOVIET GOVERNMENT:

"THE MUTINY WHICH WAS ORGANIZED BY THE GREEK BRAZEN
MILITARY AGAINST THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
CYPRUS HEADED BY ITS PRESIDENT MAKARIOS IS CONTINUING. THEREFORE,
RUDE MILITARY INTERVENTION FROM OUTSIDE INTO THE
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF A SOVEREIGN MEMBER-STATE OF THE UNITED
NATIONS IS CONTINUING, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE U.N.
CHARTER ARE BEING UNSCRUPULOUSLY TRAMPLED UNDERFOOT.

ATTEMPTS OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO CONCEAL ITS INVOLVEMENT
WITH THIS CRIMINAL ACT BY PICTURING UP THE CURRENT EVENTS
IN CYPRUS AS A RESULT OF THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE CANNOT
DELUDE ANYONE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT SOME PEOPLE IN THE WEST
HAUGHT UP THIS FALSE VERSION. THE WHOLE WORLD IS AWARE
THAT THE CONSPIRACY IN CYPRUS WAS STAGED BY THE GREEK OFFICERS
STAYING THERE WHO WERE DIRECTED THERE BY THE GREEK
GOVERNMENT AND WHO FOLLOW THE ORDERS FROM ATHENS, AND
THE GREEK GOVERNMENT SHALL NOT DODGE AWAY FROM THE
RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS ACTIONS.

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO CONSIDER AS BEING JUST THE OPINION
NOW COMING ABOUT ALL OVER THE WORLD THAT THE COUP D'ETAT IN
CYPRUS WAS ACTUALLY PLANNED BY CERTAIN NATO CIRCLES
WHICH COULD NOT PUT UP WITH THE INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS ADHERING TO AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN
POLICY, THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT.

THIS IS PRECISELY THE CONCLUSION THAT FOLLOWS FROM THE
POSITION OF CORRESPONDING NATO COUNTRIES TAKEN BY THEM
WHEN THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERED THE
ISSUE OF THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS AS A RESULT OF THE OUTSIDE
INTERVENTION. THESE COUNTRIES HAVE MADE IMPOSSIBLE THE ADOPTION

BY THE SEC No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/04/27 : LOC-HAK-123-1-15-7
AND IN SUPPORT OF THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF THIS STATE UNDER
A FALSE PRETEXT THAT THE STEMMING OF THE INTERVENTION
FROM OUTSIDE WOULD MEAN A U.N. INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL
AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS.

IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ITS MEMBER-STATES RESPECT
NOT BY WORD BUT DEED THE LOFTY PRINCIPLES AND
GOALS OF THE U.N. CHARTER THEY MUST COME OUT RESOLUTELY IN
DEFENCE OF CYPRUS.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE
WILL HAVE THEIR SAY YET, FOR THE STRIVING OF A PEOPLE
--EVEN THOUGH MODEST IN NUMBER -- FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE
CANNOT BE EXTINGUISHED. THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS HAS PROVED THIS
BY ITS MANY YEARS STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, AGAINST THE
ATTEMPTS TO SUBJUGATE ITS WILL.

THE SOVIET UNION, LOYAL TO THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF
FOREIGN POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND WILL BE ON THE SIDE OF
THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO DECIDE
ITSELF ON ITS OWN FATE. IT HAS SUPPORTED AND WILL CONTINUE
TO SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF CYPRUS AS A
SOVEREIGN STATE. AND IT IS QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THIS
CONSISTENT STANDPOINT OF THE SOVIET UNION MEETS SUPPORT
AND APPROVAL AMONG THE WORLD'S PEOPLES.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR CONSIDERS THAT ALL STATES
HIGHLY HOLD DEARLY THE PEACE AND FREEDOM OF NATIONS
MUST RAISE THEIR VOICE IN DEFENCE OF THE LEGITIMATE
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS HEADED BY PRESIDENT MAKARIOS,
FOR THE IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF THE FOREIGN MILITARY
INTERVENTION INTO THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS. AS THE
FIRST MEASURE IT MUST BE UNDERTAKEN TO REMOVE IMMEDIATELY
FROM CYPRUS THE ENTIRE GREEK MILITARY PERSONNEL.

THERE IS NO WAY TO DODGE AWAY FROM THE RESPONSIBILITY
EITHER FOR THOSE WHO HAVE ENCROACHED ON THE SOVEREIGNTY AND
INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, OR FOR THOSE WHO
ARE CONNIVING WITH THE PUTSCHISTS OR PRETENDING
UNAWARE OF THEIR CRIMINAL ACTIONS."

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.-CYPRUS

WASHINGTON (AP) -- THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION OF THE NEW CYPRUS
GOVERNMENT IS KEPT IN ABRAYANCE FOR THE TIME BEING, A STATE
DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN SAID TODAY.

THE WORD "ABRAYANCE" WAS SUGGESTED TO PRESS OFFICER ROBERT
BERNARD BY A JOURNALIST IN THE COURSE OF A LIVELY DISCUSSION AT A NEWS
CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION.

ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD AGREE WITH THE WORD, ANDERSON REPLIED: "YOU
ULD PUT IT THAT WAY."

"THE POLITICAL SITUATION (IN CYPRUS) IS VERY UNCLEAR AND THEREFORE
REST ON THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION TO EITHER SIDE. . . . WE ARE
YING TO EVALUATE THE SITUATION," ANDERSON SAID.

HE ADDED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS RECEIVED NO REQUEST FOR
COGNITION FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT NIKOS SAMPSON.

ANDERSON SAID IN A PREPARED STATEMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS
INTAINING "CONTINUOUS DIPLOMATIC CONTACT WITH ALL INTERESTED
ENTRIES IN THEIR CAPITALS AND AT THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE HOPE OF
EVENTING FURTHER DESTABILIZATION OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION." O

IN CYPRUS
CLEAR AND THEREFORE, IN OUR VIEW, THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION DOES
T ARISE NOW."

THEN ANDERSON REPEATED THE U.S. POLICY LINE WHICH HE ANNOUNCED
READY ON MONDAY AND REPEATED ON TUESDAY. THE UNITED STATES
LIVES, HE SAID, THAT "THE OBJECTIVE OF ALL INTERESTED COUNTRIES
OULD BE TO SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF
PRUS AND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS."

AT THE PENTAGON, OFFICIALS SAID THERE WAS NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE
WEDNESDAY IN THE OPERATING PATTERNS OF U.S. AND SOVIET FLEETS IN THE
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DE RUQMGO #1442 1981815

O P 171800Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8859

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 3951

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY 4487

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY YGEROP

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY 4291

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY 1892

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDDCOSOUTH PRIORITY

USEUCOM PRIORITY

DIA WASHDC //DI-5// PRIORITY

S E C R E T NICOSIA 1442

Turk views

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT CY

SUBJECT: TURKISH CHARGE'S VIEWS ON SITUATION IN CYPRUS

SUMMARY: TURKISH CHARGE INFORMED AMBASSADOR JULY 17 THAT CONTINUANCE IN POWER OF GOVT OF NICOS SAMPSON UNACCEPTABLE TO TURKEY. THAT PREVIOUS DE FACTO RELATIONS WITH STATE OF CYPRUS DESTROYED WITH DESTRUCTION GOVT OF CYPRUS BY FORCE EXTERNAL TO ISLAND AND IMPOSITION A GROUP KNOWN FOR SUBSERVIENT TO THAT FORCE, THAT AGREED BASIS FOR CYPRUS' STATUS HAD BEEN DESTROYED AND TURKEY WOULD HAVE TO REACT UNLESS THROUGH OUTSIDE INTERVENTION SITUATION COMPATIBLE WITH BASIC AGREEMENTS RESTORED. HE EXPRESSED DIS-SATISFACTION WITH UK POSITION AS DELIVERED BY BRITISH HICOMER WHICH HE INTERPRETED AS TREND TOWARD ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGES BROUGHT BY CPDP. END SUMMARY

1. AMB MADE FIRST CALL ON TURKISH CHARGE AMB. INHAN MORNING JULY 17. INHAN SAID TURKISH COMMUNITY HAD SHOWN GREAT RESTRAINT, ALTHOUGH SIX OR SEVEN HAD BEEN INJURED BY FIRING FROM GREEK SECTOR AND GREEKS HAD FIRED "MEASURING ROUNDS" INTO TURKISH CONTINGENT AREA. ANNOUNCEMENT OF NICOS SAMPSON GOVT HOWEVER HAD CREATED GREATEST SENSE OF UNEASE AMONG TURK CYPRIOTS WHO FAMILIAR WITH BACKGROUND OF THOSE IN GOVT.

2. HE HAD JUST EMERGED FROM 1 1/2 HOUR DISCUSSION WITH

***** WHSR COMMENT *****

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BRITISH HICOMER OLVER. IT WAS APPARENT THAT UK HAD AGREED TO CONSULTATIONS WITH HIS GOVT ONLY RELUCTANTLY AND HE THOUGHT WERE INCLINED TO ACCEPT THE SITUATION AS IT WAS EVOLVING ON CYPRUS. HE WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF CALLAHAN STATEMENT MONITORED FROM BBC WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE CALLED ON GREEKS TO REMOVE THEIR OFFICERS AND REPLACE THEM WITH SAME NUMBER. HE WAS SEEKING CLARIFICATION THIS POINT.

3. INHAN LIKENED PRESENT SITUATION TO THAT OF 1967-68 WHEN TURKS WOULD HAVE HAD TO MOVE IF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION HAD NOT RESULTED IN REDUCTION OF GREEK ILLEGALS FROM LEVEL OF OVER 30,000 TO AGREED LEVEL. NOW, ALTHOUGH NUMBER OF GREEK OFFICERS PROBABLY AROUND 1,000 SITUATION MUCH THE SAME BECAUSE AFTER CLAIMING DEATH OF MAKARIOS THESE HAD USED NATIONAL GUARD TO ESTABLISH A GROUP KNOWN FOR LOYALTY TO ATHENS. THIS GOVT COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO TURKEY, AND TURKS WOULD BE IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THEIR ALLIES AND OTHERS TO SEEK TO AVOID RECOGNITION BY THEM OF THIS ILLEGITIMATE REGIME. HOURKEY HAD PREVIOUSLY HAD DE FACTO RELATIONS WITH THE CYPRUS STATE. DESTRUCTION OF THIS STATE DESTROYED ALSO SITUATION STEMMING FROM THE BASIC AGREEMENTS TO WHICH GREECE, TURKEY, BRITAIN AND CYPRUS SIGNATORY. UNLESS OUTSIDE INFLUENCES COULD RESTORE THE SITUATION AGREED TO, TURKEY WOULD HAVE TO CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND WOULD EVEN IF OTHERS DID NOT.

4. AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT USING CHANNEL OF DIMIS DIMITRIOU WHO KNOWN TO EMBASSY, NEW GROUP HAD SOUGHT TO REASSURE US OF ITS DEDICATION TO CONTINUED POLICY OF FULL INDEPENDENCE, CONTINUANCE OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, AND SUPPORT OF WESTERN INTERESTS. IN ESSENCE, INHAD REPLIED THAT WHAT THE GROUP STOOD FOR SPOKE LOUDER THAN THEIR WORDS. INsofar AS INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WENT, HE UNDERSTOOD GLAFKOS CHRIDES HAD REFUSED

ABSOLUTELY TO REPRESENT SAMPSON GROUP (THIS MAY BE WRONG -- SEE SEPTTEL) AND DENKTASH WOULD NOT ACCEPT DEALINGS WITH ANY REPRESENTATIVE OF NIKOS SAMPSON.

5. AMB SAID U.S. INTEREST IN AVOIDING FURTHER CONFLICT ON CYPRUS AND IN AREA WAS GREAT. AS HE AWARE, WE HAD UNDERLINED OUR SUPPORT FOR SINGLE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT CYPRUS. OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE IS TO PREVENT THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN OUR TWO VALUED NATO ALLIES WHICH COULD AFFECT STABILITY IN THE WHOLE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN REGION AND GIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR SOVIET EXPLOITATION. INHAN SAID U.S. POSITION WAS WELCOMED BY TURKEY BUT THAT IT WAS STATED AS PRINCIPLES, WHEREAS PROBLEM WAS THAT OF THE CHANGED STATUS ON CYPRUS. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT AMBASSADOR'S STRESS ON PEACEFUL SOLUTION SINCE PEACE WAS NOT DESIRABLE END IN ITSELF IF IT INVOLVED SACRIFICE OF MORAL PRINCIPLE AND

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NATIONAL INTEREST. AMBASSADOR REJOINED THAT U.S. OPPOSED VIOLENCE WHICH LAID BASIS FOR FURTHER VIOLENCE AND PROVIDED OPPORTUNITIES FOR OTHERS TO EXPLOIT. IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCE, VARIOUS FORA INCLUDING NATO, GUARANTOR POWERS CONSULTATIONS, SECURITY COUNCIL AND BILATERAL EFFORTS WITH TURKEY'S ALLIES PROVIDED ALTERNATIVES WHICH MUST BE FULLY EXPLORED. INHAN AGREED BUT SAID THAT SINCE AMBASSADOR RECOGNIZED THAT VIOLENCE HAD BEEN EMPLOYED TO CHANGE SITUATION THERE HAD TO BE RECTIFICATION THROUGH THESE EXTERNAL EFFORTS OR TURKEY WOULD HAVE TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. HE SAID PRIME MINISTER HAD TO TELL PARLIAMENT JULY 18 OF GOVERNMENT INTENTIONS.

6. AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT GOVT OF TURKEY AND USG IN CLOSEST CONSULTATION IN BOTH WASHINGTON AND ANKARA AND IT WAS THERE THAT BASIC UNDERSTANDINGS WOULD BE WORKED OUT. FROM LONG INTEREST INBROADER AREA HOWEVER HE HOPED THAT ALL INVOLVED, PARTICULARLY OUR ALLIES, WOULD CONCERT TO PREVENT FURTHER VIOLENCE WHICH COULD ONLY THREATEN INTERESTS OF US ALL.

7. COMMENT: EMBASSY HAS NOTED INHAN HAS TAKEN INCREDIBLY HARD LINE POSITIONS AT HIS MONTHS ON CYPRUS HAVE PASSED, BUT ABOVE PROBABLY REFLECTS HIS VIEWS AS CONVEYED TO ANKARA AND MAY ALSO BE LINE HE RECEIVING FROM HIS GOVERNMENT.

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OP IMMED
 ESA6650GA241
 DE RUQMQG #1446/1 1982045
 D 172030Z JUL 74
 FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8861

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE 3953
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS NIACT IMMEDIATE 4490
 AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE 3492
 USMISSION NATO NIACT IMMEDIATE 1894
 USMISSION USUN NIACT IMMEDIATE 4293

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1446

EXDIS
 DEPARTMENT PASS USCINCEUR
 DIA WASHDC //DI-5//
 E.O. 11652: GDS
 TAGS: PPR PINT CY

SUBJECT: COUP: SHORT-TERM US POLICY AND MID-TERM CONSIDERATIONS
 REF: NICOSIA 1371

SUMMARY: BEST HOPE WE SEE OF AVOIDING WAR IS NOT TO TRY TO PERSUADE GREEK JUNTA TO UNDO WHAT IT HAS DONE, BUT RATHER TO ENCOURAGE TURKEY TO COME TO BELIEVE THAT ITS INTERESTS ARE BETTER SERVED BY DEALING WITH A WEAK AND COMPLIANT SAMPSON REGIME THAN BY GOING TO WAR TO RESTORE A CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER WHICH INCLUDES RESTORATION OF THEIR ARCH-ENEMY MAKARIOS. ON RECOGNITION, SUGGEST WE MADE CLEAR THAT WE CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE MAKARIOS GOVERNMENT, BUT NOT FORECLOSE PROSPECT OF MOVING TO RECOGNITION OF NEW REGIME (ON STRICTLY NON-MORALISTIC GROUNDS) IF, AS SEEMS FAIRLY LIKELY, IT SUCCEEDS IN CONSOLIDATING ITS POWER FOR A PERIOD ON CYPRUS. END SUMMARY

1. LET US UNDERSCORE ANKARA'S REMARK THAT THE KEY PRESENT ISSUE IS TO KEEP GREECE AND TURKEY FROM WAR. LONGER-TERM OBJECTIVE IS TO AVOID INTRA-GREEK CIVIL WAR ON ISLAND WITH LIKELIHOOD THAT USSR WOULD BECOME INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN SUPPORT OF LEFT.

*could restoration
of S. regime
avoid war?*

2. ON RECOGNITION, WE BELIEVE USG SHOULD SAY QUITE FRANKLY THAT WE CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT MAKARIOS! WITHOUT GETTING TRAPPED INTO PREDICTIONS AS TO WHAT WE WILL

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ON THE FUTURE. WE OWE ATHENS NOTHING FOR THIS LITTLE FRAUDS, AND WE ASSUME TURKEY WOULD BE EMBITTERED AND LESS AMENABLE TO OUR SUGGESTIONS IF WE SEEM TO ABANDON ANKARA BY ANY PRESENT WEAKNESS OR RECOGNITION. IN FORTHCOMING UNDERTAKINGS, EMBASSY WOULD PREFER TO SEE USG ON SIDE OF JUSTICE AND INCIDENTALLY OF VAST MAJORITY.

3. ON INFORMAL LEVEL, WE HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING PERSUADE NEW REGIME OF EXTREME DANGER OF ITS POSITION AND TO ENCOURAGE IT TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SHOW THEMSELVES AS NO THREAT TO TURKS (SEPTELS). WE EXPECT TO CONTINUE THESE EFFORTS. NEW FOREIGN MINISTER IS A VERY CLOSE PERSONAL FRIEND OF EMBASSY AND HAS BEEN ANXIOUS TO TALK PRIVATELY ABOUT HIS PROBLEMS WITHOUT SEEKING ANY RECOGNITION. (HE TRIED TO CALL UK HICOM INTO FOREIGN MINISTRY, BUT HAS NOT TRIED THIS PLOY WITH US.)

4. PRINCIPAL HOPE OF KEEPING ANKARA FROM TAKING UP ARMS (SEE NICOSIA 1442) SEEMS TO BE COMBINATION OF PERSUASION FROM TURKISH ALLIES AND FROM NATO, COUPLED WITH SOME EVIDENCE FROM CYPRUS THAT THIS NEW OUTFIT MAY BE EASIER TO DEAL WITH THAN MAKARIOS. WE SUSPECT THAT ANY HOPE OF RESOLVING CONFLICT BY PERSUADING ATHENS TO SACK DOWN (E.G., TO WITHDRAW ITS 600 OFFICERS, AS NATO REQUESTED) IS NOT IN THE CARDS. MOREOVER, WE THINK THAT WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK OFFICERS AT THIS STAGE WOULD LEAVE A HEAVILY-ARMED AND DISORGANIZED RABBLE IN CONTROL OF ISLAND, WITH CATASTROPHIC RESULTS. AS TO LINE OF COMMAND, WE WOULD PREFER EVEN IOANNIDES' FINGER ON THE TRIGGER RATHER THAN SAMPSON'S

5. WE AGREE WITH SYG LUNS (USNATO 3911) THAT ATHENS HAS GOTTEN ITSELF INTO A SITUATION WHERE IT IS POLITICALLY DOOMED IF ITS CYPRUS VENTURE IS A FLOP BUT WOULD BE MILITARILY DEFEATED BY TURKEY IF ITS CYPRUS VENTURE SUCCEEDED. GREEK JUNTA HAS ALREADY DEMONSTRATED CONVINCINGLY THAT IT IS WILLING TO PUT PRIDE ABOVE THE RATIONAL PURSUIT OF ITS OWN INTERESTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, TURKEY IS BEHAVING, SO FAR AT LEAST, WITH CIRCUMSPECTION. AS SITUATION UNFOLDS, ANKARA MAY BEGIN TO FEEL ITS INTERESTS ARE AS WELL SERVED BY A PLIANT AND WEAK SAMPSON GOVERNMENT (OR POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT) AS BY SETTING IN MOTION AN INVASION WHICH COULD RESTORE THE HATED MAKARIOS TO POWER, PARTICULARLY WHEN TURKEY CONSIDERS THE INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH AN EFFORT, INCLUDING THE LIKELIHOOD THAT, AFTER THE ISLAND HAS BEEN FRACTIONED BY THIS COUP, MAKARIOS WILL BE MORE THAN EVER DEPENDENT UPON THE LEFT IF HE DOES RETURN TO POWER. FURTHERMORE, ANKARA MAY CONCLUDE THAT RELATIVE STABILITY HERE IS BETTER THAN A LEFT/RIGHT INTRA-GREEK CIVIL WAR WITH THE ATTENDANT PROSPECT OF DEEPER SOVIET INVOLVEMENT.

DAVIES

not consistent with theme this cable

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DP IMMED
 ESA7610GA272
 DE RUOMDGG #1446/2 1982100
 O 172030Z JUL 74
 FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8862
 INFO RUOMDGG/AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE 3954
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS NIACT IMMEDIATE 4491
 AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE 3493
 USMISSION NATO NIACT IMMEDIATE 1895
 USMISSION USUN NIACT IMMEDIATE 4294

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1446

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 DEPARTMENT PASS USCINCEUR
 DIA WASHDC //OI-5//

6. WE ASSUME THAT MAKARIOS WILL HAVE OVERWHELMING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, AT LEAST ORALLY. IF MALTESE PM MINTOFF'S PERSONAL REACTION, EXPRESSED TO OUR AMBASSADOR, IS ANY INDICATOR, THIS SUPPORT MAY BE MORE VERBAL THAN REAL, EXCEPT (. SOVIET BLOC.

7. AS TO SUPPORT ON THE ISLAND ITSELF, WE THINK A DISPASSIONATE LOOK IS IN ORDER. THE GENERAL POLITICAL FLACCIDITY WHICH HAMPERED GRIVAS' EFFORTS TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT AGAINST MAKARIOS 18 MONTHS AGO NOW SEEMS TO HAVE WORKED TO MAKARIOS' DIS-ADVANTAGE IN THE CURRENT COUP. FROM WHAT WE CAN SEE, AND FROM WHAT UNSYG REP WECKMANN TELLS US, IT APPEARS THAT ONLY IN PAPHOS DID PRO-MAKARIOS NATIONAL GUARDSMEN TAKE CONTROL. ELSEWHERE, DESPITE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THERE WAS SCATTERED RESISTANCE AMONG NATIONAL GUARD ENLISTEES, THE CYPRIOT SOLDIERS EITHER FOLLOWED THEIR GREEK OFFICERS OR WERE NEUTRALIZED. (FALSE REPORT OF MAKARIOS' DEATH MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THIS.) MOREOVER, WE HAVE REPORTED THAT SOME RIGHT-WING ORGANIZATIONS HAVE GOTTEN ON THE BANDWAGON WITH EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR SAMPSON. CLERIDES' POSITION IS A MOST IMPORTANT ONE, AND HE SEEMS TO HAVE AGREED TO CONTINUE TO SERVE AS INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATOR (THOUGH WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT IF ANY CONDITIONS HE ATTACHED).

8. THE UPSHOT OF THIS VERY PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF LOCAL

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ATTITUDES IS TO SUGGEST THAT THE FEARED POLARIZATION DID OCCUR, AND THAT MUCH OF THE CENTER AND RIGHT LOOKED UPON THE COUP WITH MIXED FEELINGS. (WE HAD EARLIER REPORTED GROWING CONCERNS THAT MAKARIOS WAS MOVING AGAINST THE MOTHERLAND AND THAT HE WAS ATTEMPTING TO CONVERT THE POLICE, THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE NATIONAL GUARD INTO SOMETHING OF A PERSONAL INSTRUMENT.) WE ASSUME THAT THE NEW REGIME WILL MOVE AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS, AND THAT THEY WILL FIGHT BACK WITH EVERY RESOURCE THEY HAVE. THE PROSPECT FOR DOMESTIC INSTABILITY IS HIGH, AND THE LONG-TERM PROSPECT OF A DIVIDED COMMUNITY RULED BY GREECE VIA SAMPSON IS A GLOOMY ONE. HOWEVER, THE REGIME MAY VERY WELL ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THE ISLAND FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD.

9. IF IN SOME WEEKS' TIME, THE REGIME DOES SEEM IN EFFECTIVE CONTROL, AND IF THE MENACE OF TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION HAS RECEDED IN THE FACE OF THE CALCULATIONS SUGGESTED ABOVE, WE THINK THE USG SHOULD NOT HAVE CLOSED ITS OPTION TO MOVE TOWARD RECOGNITION IN CIRCUMSTANCES CONDUCTIVE TO EFFECTIVE WORKING RELATIONSHIPS. OVER THE LONG TERM, THE USG HAS HAD ENOUGH PROBLEMS APPLYING MORAL STANDARDS TO RECOGNITION. WE HAVE IN THE SENATE RESOLUTION OF 1969 AND OUR RECENT OFFICIAL STATEMENTS A NATURAL RATIONALE FOR EXPLAINING A DECISION TO RECOGNIZE ON A BASIS OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL. AT THAT TIME, WE WOULD ASSUME THAT, STILL OWING VERY LITTLE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT OR TO ATHENS, WE COULD VERY WELL ACCOMPANY OUR RECOGNITION WITH AN EXPRESSION OF REGRET THAT FORCE WAS USED TO SUPPLANT AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT AND TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE CONTINUE TO REGARD THE ARCHBISHOP WITH RESPECT.

10. IN ANY CASE, THIS FENCE IS TO BE CROSSED LATER, NOT NOW.

DAVIES

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